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[For a vocabulary of the Talamanca language see category 116, pp. 540-602.]

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Chapter II.

The languages of southern Costa Rica.

Section I.—The Bri-bri language.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression.

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *suk* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary I have rejected most of these specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English.

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a | sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terraba was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tiribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri

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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *hu'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia hu'-te-kin*, but *miâ hu pa'-gi*. This *pa'-gi* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagi-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagi*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *hu m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyal* and three days are *kosŋ m-nyar*. *Bil*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

white,	*mu-lush'*.
black,	*do-losh'*.
gray,	*bish'*.
red,	*mash* (*a* as in far).
half-white, half-black.	*bi-tsus'*.
black, with white face,	*kŭ-jos'*.
with throat appendages,	*bu-lish'*.
short-legged,	*na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf).

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*coche*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*saca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dĕ-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-b-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ĕ*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-toi'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *krar'-krar*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-no'-i-no*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-re'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bar'-a-bar*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kŭ-nyo'-kŭ-nyo*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ré-ri*.

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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-roz*, Spanish arroz'; *sombre'no*, Sp. sombrero; *zapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-we*, English bead, *we* native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *techichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-s'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *s'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

802 The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *skang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *ska*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated, so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki et*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

193 *Wa*, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*. Thus *i-da-wo'*, to die; *i-da-wo'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *ya lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ye*, to paint; *pat-yet'-ke*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ke*, flattened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ke*, healed; *bë-ta'*, a point; *bë-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

Kli used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ke*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

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APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

127 192 THE following is a comparative vocabulary of the Boruca language of words used in this paper. The earliest vocabulary is that of Valentini, dating from 1862. This has been taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–48. In the chart, it is listed as Valentini, 1920. The next oldest are those of Gabb and Monseñor Thiel, and are placed according to their publication dates, the first being Gabb, 1881, and the second Thiel, 1882. The second Thiel vocabulary is taken from Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 346–56, and was collected in the year 1892. It is listed as Thiel, 1920, in the chart. The following three lists are from Pittier dating from the years 1891, 1892–96, and published by the National Museum of Costa Rica in 1941. Because of this, it is listed as 1941. The last Pittier vocabulary appeared in 1908. The final column was gathered by 192 the writer in 1945, and contains the Boruca 104 name for the principal items mentioned in this paper. The orthography used in the 1945 column is based on the international phonetic alphabet of G. H. Camerlynck. This alphabet was accepted at the International Congress of Phonetics in 1926. The key to this spelling is given below. (Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining special phonetic characters and setting these in the typeface as used herein, certain substitutes in the phonetic alphabet have been made. It has been necessary to make

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two alterations from the original — the *a*'s are different from those in the Camerlynck alphabet; *ŋ* represents an alternative form of the character used by Camerlynck.) 192 104

It should be noticed that apart from the differences caused by lack of standard phonetic alphabet, the language has been slowly changing during the period of years represented by these lists, and that certain indigenous words are being replaced by hispanic forms.

KEY TO PHONETIC SPELLING

a: Like *cat*, *hat*
ɑ: *ah*, like *a* in Latin.
e: like *May*
ɛ: like *wet*, but with long vocalic sound
ə: like mute *e* in English
i: like *ee* in English: *sleep*
o: like *ob* in English
ɔ, *œ*: like *cut* in English
ø: like *custom*, or better, like *eu* in French, or *ö* (*oe*) in German: *Goethe*
b, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, *z*, like in English
ŋ: almost like *ng* in English, or like *gn* in French
ʃ: like *sh* in English
ǯ: like *Genevieve*
w: like *what*, but without expiration
j: like *yet*
y: like *ü* in German: *Glück*
ɥ: like *ü* in German: *Glück*

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APPENDIX C. COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

[P. 43]

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1941
				A				
alligator pear				*bu-era*		*bub'-kra*		*bu'kra*
								dra'
anda-riel (rail vine) or *bejuco de hombre* (man vine)				*tsóna*		*tsón, tzu*		*tzu*
armadillo								
Arundinella (see savannah grass — for rattles)								
				B				
bags (string)								*bro-ji*
banana		*brid'ua*		*bri-duib*		*brid-ui*		*brid'ua*
banana (guineo)					[1]	[2]		*bu-dua'*
bark cloth				*cavac*	*cavác*			*kavak'*
basket				*coob-crúng*	*ko-kra*	*kokrún*		*kɔ*
basket (large)								*kɔ'ua*
bean				*suíp, síebp*		*soeíp, suoíp*		*swep*
bee				*bus*				*bus-uawa*
bejuco de fierro (iron vine) or *bejuco negro* (black vine)								*brit*
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)								*brutʃ-a'*
bejuco de hombre (see *anda-riel*								
belt, woven (for men)		*suampha*	*soudmca*	[3]		*suam-bi*		*suam-b-a'*
				cacnub-tsit				
						brún-kub'		*swa-bra*
bijagua								*buso-b-a'*
bijagua (black)								*dɨ*
birds	*du-tsit*	*du-tsit*		*du*		*du, du tsit; pud*		*sug'-dɔbun*
bushmaster						*sig-dóbun*		
				C				
cabuya				*chijs-ca*				*ʃjs-ka*
cane (wild)		[4]		*bajira*		*baq-kra*		*bak-kra'*
		ba[illegible]		*swoit*				

[1] Pittier, 1891, p. 103, uses *bri duib* for *guineo* and not for "banana."

[2] Pittier, 1941, p. 16, uses *bu-dua* for *plátano guineo*, and not for "banana."

[3] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 331, does not give the Spanish word *seje* but gives *zimurón* for the Boruca word cited above.

[4] Gabb, 1881, p. 465, does not list *caña blanca*, or "white cane." He lists *caña silvestre*, or "wild cane."

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
capulin (white)						*tsibé-kra*		*tsbe'kra*; *tsi'kwa*; *kr3'kr-a*
caraña							*dibis-krá*	*dibis-kr-a'*; *rc∫ca'*
carbonero								*gri∫in-kra'*
cassava (see yuca)								
cat						*bis*		*bis*
chicha (from corn alone)		*yi-usé*; *djiusé* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 55)		*cuc-cha*		*djü-bui*; *kup-tsa-bui*		*dʒɪ-buí*
chicha (mixed with flampi)								*dɥkat∫a'*
chicha (mixed with pejibaye)				*suba-chá*				*suba-t∫a'*
chicha (mixed with ripe or green plantain)						*mua djü-bui*		*mwadʒɪbuí'*
chicha (mixed with yuca)				*ung-ca-chá*				*uŋ-ka-t∫a'*
chicha *punsetti*								*tsuist∫a'*
chicken				*corá*		*krob'*		*kro*
chocolate		*kaá*		*cáu-cá*		*kaá*; *kaí*		*kao*
chonta (large roots)								*kenagira*
chonta (small roots)								*mama-kra'*
clam								*krũ*
clam (large)								*suru'*
clay vessel (large)				*cwurah*				*kwure'*
clay vessel (*comal*)								*gwam*
cocoa-butter						*sik*		*∫ik*
coffee								*krangwa*
Conostegia						°		*kana kra'*
copal								*ɥɪt-kra*
cordoncillo							*kuí-krá*	*krɥikʃ-at*
corn	*ko-ep*	*kup*		*cup*	*cuúp*	*kup*	*ru-krá*	*kup*
corn (black)					*cuúp turinat*	*kup-turinát*		*kup-turjnat*; *kup-krjnat*
corn-patch			*crib*	*cri*; *cup-cac*		*ri*		*gri*

° *krá*, of course, means "plant" or "tree."

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1882) 1920	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1920	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
corn (sprouted)								*kus-pɔ*
corozo palm				*tso-egué*		*tso-krə*		*tso-krə'*
cotton				*chebé*	*tshebé*	*tsïbu-krə*		*tʃeb'*
cotton, colored					*teri tshebé*	*terik tsïbé*		*trikʃu*; *trikʃubuk*
coyol palm						*guə-krə*; *uə-krə*; *u-krə*		*kuuə-krə*
crab (river)				*croc*		*korók*; *gué*		*k:rok'*
crayfish				*nuib*		*sirué*; *seua*		*su-a'*
crayfish (small)								*ʃu*
croaker	Apparently, only the Spanish name "roncador" is in use						*tsé-krə*	*tʃu-krə'*
Cuphea								
curassow				*dibi-ruru-at*		*kuúng*; *kug*		*kuŋ'*
				D				
deer	*suturik*			*suturic*		*su-turik*		*suturik*
disciplina palm								*ʃu*
dog	*kuj*	*auib*		*aiif*		*aúq*, *aúx*[a]		*arf*
drum				*quebé*		*kébé*		*kebe'*
dug-out canoe for river						*ru-tsïr*		*rü*
dug-out canoe for sea (*bongo*)								*rü*
				E				
egg (crocodile)						[b]		*kukup*
egg (hen)		[c]		[c]		*krob'-kup*		*krokup*
Elaeis								*tsukrə'*
espavel								*jcukrə'*
				F				
fire stones						*dji-krə-kuŋ-i*		*djikrakuŋ-i*
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)								
fish	*uə*	*uŋ*		*uŋ*		*uŋ*		*uŋ*

[a] Pittier, 1941, p. 67, calls attention that the word for "dog" is *onomatopoetic*.

[b] Although "crocodile egg" is not given in any vocabulary except that of the writer, Pittier, 1941, p. 61, lists *kub* as a crocodile; while Thiel, in Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 353, gives *cub*; *or cu*.

[c] Gabb, 1881, p. 472, gives *kup* for "egg." Neither Gabb nor Thiel make a distinction between the "egg" and a "hen's egg," as does Pittier and the writer.

[d] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 353, gives *i-cdp* for "egg."

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1865) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1897	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
				G				
gourd (oblong)								*tam*
gourd tree (oblong)						*tam-krá*		*tam-kra*
gourd (round)								*kruə'*
gourd tree (round)		*yön-kra*		*täng-crab*		*kuá-krá*		*kruə-kra*
grinding stone (for grain)		"		*cang*		*dji-ab-rá*		*kaŋ-kra'*
grinding stone (from graves)								*kaŋ; kruə*
gruel								*ok-ʃja*
guácimo				*dión-crób*		*diam-krá*		*diam-kra*
guan, crested				*dibíb*		*dibí*		*dinj*
guanacaste						*krá-krá*		*kruə'-kra*
guatuza		*cherbt;* *tzezt* (in Pittier, 1941, p. 59)		*chéb*		*tzub'*		*tsʃə'*
guava			*shuib-uáb*[11]	"		*suib-krá*		*zqi-kra*
				H				
hammock		*kung*		*cung*		*kun*		*kuŋ*
hearth stone (see stone)								
huiscoyol palm						*tzu-krá*		*tzu-kra*
				I				
indigo							*tibi-báb*	*tibi-kra*
inga				*gurócba*		*guarok-krá*		*guarɔk-kra*
				J				
jaboncillo								*ʃja*
jar (for chicha)								*dʒə-buə'-grkj'*
				L				
little stick grass								*su*
loom					*cuab líbing*			*tramɔbo* (hispanic root?)

[11] Gabb, 1881, p. 479, does not list "grinding stone," but lists the word for "stone" as *kang*.

[11] Thiel, 1882, p. 93, gives the tree as *shuib-uáb*, and the fruit as *uáb*.

[11] Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 353, lists the fruit as *shuib-uáb*, but does not list the plant.

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1882) 1920	GABB 1882	THIEL 1893	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1897	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
				M				
cacao			*shdeb*			*zub'*		*ʃo*
mahagua				*zeng-cve*		*kvo-kud*	*kvdh-ua*	*kvo-kua'*
mango	There appears to be no indigenous name							
maraca								*ta kup*
Maria tree						*dáti-kvá*	*dát-kvi-kva*	*da'ti-kvá'*
mastate (red)								*drok-kuuh-kvá'*
mastate (white)							*kuuh-kva*	*kuuh-'kvá'*
May tree (pink)						*ke-kva; ki-kva*	*ke-kva, ki-kvá*	*ke-kva*
May tree (white)								*ʃukvá'*
mollusk (small)						*zurku-ki*		*zurumá'*
monkey (red)		*náng*		*nong*		*náu*		*nzg*
monkey (white-faced)		*ók*		*oc*		*ók*		*ok*
mullet (fresh water)	Apparently there is no name in the Boruca tongue							
mushroom								*zakua*
				N				
nance				*zhiqu-cve*		*zi-kva*		*ʃí-kva*
nene (male) *nenz* (female)								*zukuk; kva-r-o-nuu*
				R				
ñampi						=		*dq*
				O				
								kabo-ua
ojoche (fruit)						*kabo-kvá*		*kabo-kvá*
ojoche (tree)							*kodh-ua-kúp*	*ʃú-kup*
ojo de buey								
orange			*drej zhlua*			*drab'-zui-ua*		*drá'-ʃín*
				P				
pacaya palm				*cub*		*ku-kvá*		*kq-kvá'*
palmiliara						*gzu-kvá*		*gu∫-kva*
papaya				*cáb*		*kub'; u-kvá*		*kq*

* Pittier, 1941, p. 65, into this as *dawa*.

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ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1861) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
parrot			*curij*			*kurij*		*jrig*
pejibaye			*rubi-ecra*	*rubio-cra*		*rubo-krá*		*rubo-krá*
pejibaye (without thorns)								*q-krá*
pejibaye (without seeds)								*rubp*
pejibaye (with seeds)								*qk*
perch						*sodi*		*sorr*
pestle or stone		*yu-ri*		*cang-e-qui-thurib*		*kang-i-suk'*		*kaq-i-su'*
Philodendron								*su-krá*
pig						*suchi*		*kuaji*
pig (peccary)		*sini*		"				*sini*
pig (wild boar?)		*kra-ani-thuk*				*krano-suk; krano-i-suk*		*krano-juk*
pigeon (large)	*oog*			*doc*		*dok; dhok*		*srk*
pigeon (white-wing)						*kibi-su*		*kibi-su*
pineapple		*bzuzi*		*boaz*		*boazi*		*bzuzu*
pita				*ka*				*ka*
plantain		*uzuu*	*su (?)*"			*suui*		*suuzu*
poró				"			*bru-krá*	*bru-krá*
poro-poro						*min-kra*		*min-krá*
pouch (pemican?)								*kubr?*
				R				
rattle (*maraca*)								*ra*
rice						*su-zrui*		*murdi*
royal palm							*o-krá*	*o-krá*
rubber (wild)							*gli-krá*	*gzi-krá*
				S				
salt				*quib*		*ki*		*kj*
salt (rock)								*kj-oj-ka*
salt (salt)								*kj-kag*
sandbox tree						*tzu-krá*		*tzu-krá*

" Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 351, gives *sini* for *cariblanco*, which is a species of wild pig.

" It appears from the Bishop's vocabulary that *su* may be considered as the word he uses for plantain; see Thiel, 1882, p. 103.

" Thiel, in Lehmann, 1910, vol. I, p. 355, gives *ning-crab*. This is, however, the *poro-poro*, and not the *poró*. See p. 6.

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1910	GABB 1881	THIEL 1881	THIEL 1910	PITTIER 1891	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	STONE 1945
sangrilla tree								*rus krə'*
savanna grass								*bjak*
savanna grass (for new-born child)								*trik-krə'*
savanna grass (for rattles)								*suge-r-ə'*
seeds (black used in rattles)								*i-akrə'*
sese palm							*sem*	*sem-krə'*
Serjania								*abiu*
shaman								*bruk-bri*
sieve								*ʃi-brə-tse*
skirt (*nanta*)		*cuuib-i*		*cduubi*	*cuuibi*	*kuux-i*		*kəʃ*
smoke						*sidqk*		*siok*
sotocaballo							*kuib-krə*	*kucs-krə'*
							cuch-crə' (in Pittier, 1888, p. 93 see References)	
Spanish plum	There appears to be no name in Boruca							*tus*
spindle								*tus-kup*
spindle whorl								*tʃəʃ*
squash								*nuna-krə'*
stilt palm (black, small roots)								*kusajra*
stilt palm (black, large roots)				*shi-srib*		*djji-tan*		*djji-tan*
stone; hearth stone								*tabetsengu-ə'*
Strychnos				*budi*		*baq-djji-ra*	*bax dibrib*	*bak-dʒ'-ra*
sugar cane		*bah-ya-rə*		T				
tamale of dried green plantains								*tʃari-kɔ*
temple					*pabi-djji*			*pʃu-djji*
tepezuinale				*diji*		*bigt*		*bikt*
termite grass								*ʃupʃus*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)				*ong-corə*		*ond-krob; ung-kuk*		*ond-krə*
tiquisque				*tan*		*idn*	*tan*	*tan*
tobacco		*dous*	*du-i*	*duub*		*dəuub'; duub'*	*di-ui*	*du-s*

ENGLISH	VALENTINI (1862) 1920	GABB 1882	THIEL 1882	THIEL 1920	PITTIER 1892	PITTIER 1941	PITTIER 1908	1945
tortilla (of sprouted corn)								*s-ʃi*
tortilla (of old corn)						*o-bd-ri; ó-tso-ri*		*obʒ -ri*
toucan				*serit*		*srit, tsi-rit-srit*		*shrit*
traps for birds								*tsrʒka*
				V				
vessel (earthen)		*krus-li*		*furé*		*surab' krusib'*		*stá'grib*
vessel (iron)						*drik krudib'*		*drik-tsku*
				W				
wasp (wild)		*srung-sul*		*surúng-os*		*srun-sul*		*srun-tsu*
water left from cocoa-butter								*kso*
wax		*but*		*but*		*but*		*bur*
weave used in straw *muraca*								*ra-t-s'*
weaving instruments								*ra-kra*
witchery								*mamram*
				Y				
yeast; also chicha with yeast								*monsera, moboso* (hispanic roots?)
yuca				*úng-cab*		"		*uŋ'-ka*
yucca	*Itavo* is the only name used. It is probably not Boruca							
yuquilla								*ʃ[ansa* (probably Spanish)

" Pittier, 1941, p. 45, lists the sweet variety (*Esculenta* Crantz) as *unkab'*. The writer could not find this variety amongst the *Borucas*. Pittier does not list the non-sweet type.

[p. 50]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 103 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

194 š, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of š, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico have a like consonant. [197]

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta.*

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch.*

š is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh.*

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example: [192]

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dɔwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jɔwá* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dɔwe* (sickness); *jɔwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.
[22] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.
[23] Pozas, N.D.

[P. 11(A)]

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177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the conquest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *huẍiga* or, literally, *hu* (house) *ẍiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

[177] [721]

621 361

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

[231]

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qualyst]

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262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[72] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[72] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakómogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[192]

[See category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*). The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

273 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

● [192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *shamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[See category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 16(B)]

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burío* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*,[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1/1 [to a carrying baskets– ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
[824] remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves frequently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[753] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

● [192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

[P. 19 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

352 177 [354] [415] [412] 417 342 177 [192] nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions of other customs are evident. The hearth is sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends with vines similar to those of the Panamanian Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks, plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched steps is used for a ladder to reach the mezzanines which are occasionally seen in this type of house. It is significant that the Cabécares, who have had less contact with non-indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 [824] [192] [184] In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Talamanca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 [287] Dress. Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The [192] Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, *d*).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] 248 [790] **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that [777] they consider as very essential to prevent bad luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing [294] clothes, some women also make cotton thread on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

6:Stone E-6 (1956-1959)1962
[P.21(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 [137] [438] **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, however, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with 491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are [193] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] [172] [462] One of the most important fibers comes from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[90] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

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NUMBERS AND MEASURES

805
192

New moon	*si* (moon)	*pęLɨ* (new)
Growing moon	*si* (moon)	*tso* (half) *kɨk* (sky)
Full moon	*si* (moon)	*tuLá* (full)
Waning moon	*si* (moon)	*tuį* (less)

The day is designated by the movement of the sun in the following fashion among the Bribri:

dawn	*buLám*[95]	
early morning	*diwɔ*[96] (sun)	*kina* (came out)
from about 8 A.M. to midday	*diwɔ* (sun)	*camba* (half)
midday	*diwɔ* (sun)	*okaŋ* (up)
afternoon	*diwɔ* (sun)	*butána* (lowers) or
	diwɔ (sun)	*askewian* (spends itself or lowers)
evening	*diwɔt* (sun)	*kam* (gone) or
	diwɔt (sun)	*mlam* (goes in)

A slightly simpler division is used by the Cabécar:

dawn	*kąir* (place)	*Kánirrawį* (dawning)
early morning	*sąira* (early)	
midday	*kąwá* (sun)	*mogi* (half)
afternoon	*komiskLá* (late)	

There are only two expressions for night:

Bribri:		
night	*kį* (place or time)	*tuina* (dark) *or*
midnight	*kį* (place or time)	*cambus* (half)
Cabécar:		
night	*tɔwina* (dark)[97]	
midnight	*ká* (place)	*łaką* (half)

The counting of past and future time is also of interest. Both tribes have the same system. The list given here is in Bribri and is used up to 6.

Past	*Present*	*Future*
yesterday *chiki*	today *łɨɨ*	tomorrow *buLé*
2 days past *bśkLi*		2 days after today *bɔiki*
3 days past *mąpaLi*		3 days after today *mepek*
4 days past *tkáLi*		4 days after today *tkík*

are different.

[95] Sun can be called *diwɔ* or *diwɔtt*.

[96] Note that this is the same word used by the Bribri.

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Past	Present	Future
805 5 days past *skfLi*		5 days after today *skfiki*
●192 6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784 All events of life are bound by tabus and [182] fear, and of necessity these occasions require [756] the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, cer- [184] tain prohibitions and laws continue, although [609] they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

843 **Pre-natal.** Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

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805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[263] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For *the first four days, an old woman brings the*
[824] mother a hot liquid made from the bark of trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

846 remains in a corner for the next four days,
bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid.
756 The medicine man talks for two nights and
846 passes a variety of leaves, including *aïk*
[824] (*Araceæ* sp.), over her and the new born babe
[751] who is also washed with leaves which supposedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D:Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day,
[783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have
756 much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabécar. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the
[783] purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia [102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 *Pittier [103] notes that the Bribri male had a*
[756] secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papaluak* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "taba" or "thing that is not touched." It

[192]

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further-
[271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[924] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[278] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when men-
[264] struating can the girl serve men at meals, and during this period she must stay aside even
[262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
● 192 [188] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[189] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

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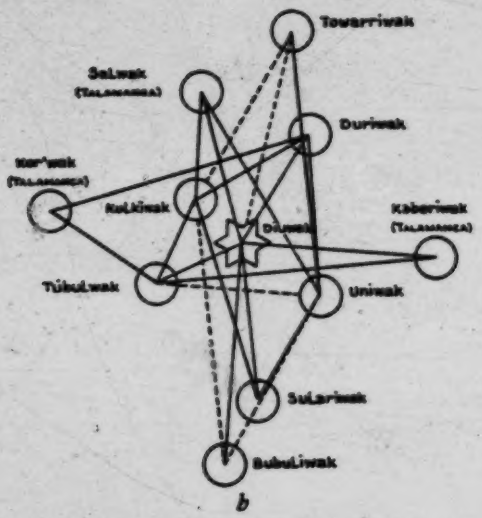

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séká* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ká* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *ditsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwaet* meaning "other group." [119]

[582]
[614]
101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[119] In the Cabécar, *dəsuwak* means "same group." *séberwetur* is "other group."

101 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their lan-
192 guage *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are
614 still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diurwak (sun people)
kuLkiwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*ñamne* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak — kəberiwak
duriwak — uniwak
túbuLwak

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak — mediwak
mogriwak — brupawak
kəbériwak — túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a
554 Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts
611 of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves
[851] members of their *father's* clan in spite of the fact that the father has married outside of his people

[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *níbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabusi[183]	Da or girl
nauʒum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
●[192] akeʒekɛ	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[185]	sibling (child) So
[582] sɨʒámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *sɨ* (our).
ʒeakɛ́	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ʒeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ʒekutí	Br referring to Si (male ego).
tɨʒe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutɨʒekɛ	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerpa	woman (any age)
aLawebLa	man
aLaduLakɨn	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

noʃki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ʒʃk	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.

[185] My child is *ʒeLa*.

[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

601

ʒís kibí	Elder Br
ʒís bacha	Youngest Br
ʒís kuta nuLɛ̨	Eldest Si
ʒís kuta tsisekek	Youngest Si
ʒís kuta bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Si youngest Da
ʒís eL bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Br youngest Da
sibaiba	Mo Mo So Mo Mo Da
ʒiba	Da So child
ʒibabuší[189]	Da young girl

Reference Terms

ʒiba jiʒiʒi	So Hu of Da
dabai	Stepson; Br of the uncle Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt
dəbə	Si Da Hu Br Da Hu
dəboguət	Br Wi, Hu Si } Reference and direct
dwa	Si Hu, Hu Br } Direct. Reciprocal between men.
mą	Br Wi, Hu Si } Direct. Reciprocal between women.
nuąki	Hu Fa Wi Fa
ʒak	Hu Mo Wi Mo
klawa	Cousins (female)

Direct Terms

ʒís kaga	Fa
ʒís kaga eL	Fa Br
ʒís kaga tsisekek	Fa youngest Br
nuí	Mo Br Fa Br
kaʒigue	Fa Si (also reference) Mo Si
ʒís tsisekek	Youngest Br

Both Lines

Direct and Reference Terms

eLwa	Fa Br sibling Mo Br sibling Fa Si sibling Mo Si sibling
tschi	Mo Fa (reciprcoal) Fa Fa

[192]

[189] *buzi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tɸmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tɸmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tɸmí* take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tɸmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives people a rash which kills them.

There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wimbLu* who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wimbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, the person dies.

There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLéẍibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLéẍibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192] [181] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *kú* in Bribri and *namú* in Cabécar.
[182] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

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*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jabu* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLəžəbí*, who led the group, *kuasran*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ləwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, [778] put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from Chirá Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasran* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

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(6) The Myth of the Eagle [179]

(Cabécar, but taken over by the Bribri)

* 539 The *túgwa* say that in the beginning of the world there was a large eagle who carried off all men and animals to his nest for food for his young ones. This eagle lived on a high peak in a place known as *sulÁšibi* which lies at the headwaters of the Tiliri River in Talamanca.

People did not know what to do because everyone was carried off. Finally, one man offered to kill the eagle. He made a cage of black palm (*Iriartea* sp.) and a knife of the same material. Then the man entered the cage.

The eagle carried him in this to the peak thinking he would have good food for his young ones and left him there believing his prey was safe. Returning to earth, he seized another man and fed him to his offspring.

When the eagle and his companion were asleep, the man in the cage crept out with his knife to kill the eagle. The eagle's companion turned to stone and the eagle himself fell head-first into a lagoon which lay below his nest. When he touched the water, flames came forth; he was furious because he was the owner of the lagoon. The man became frightened at this and re-entered the cage. Then he threw a rope over the cliff and lowered himself to the ground.

He told what happened to another person and because he did so, he disappeared.

The Stone in the Talire River

(Cabécar and Bribri)

[778] In the upper Talire, there is a large boulder. This was the big eagle *p'u*. There were originally four: the mother, the father, and two children. They fell in flames into the lagoon and are now the boulder in the river. (*See p'u* in Linguistic Texts.)

[192] the Spanish word, *huaca*, which literally means "a buried treasure." It is the term used in Costa Rica to signify Indian burials and the objects obtained from the graves.

[778] [179] This rock is situated in the savanna known as Mano del Tigre on the trail leading from Buenos Aires to Boruca.

[179] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒis, mę ilu Lɔgɔ p'u.*

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traditions, are known by the Spanish term *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri, or in Cabécar *di*[204]-*ʒɔ* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field, making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient food. Dancing with singing, particularly on the Caribbean side, forms part of the entertainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as

[Text continues TOP of P.69(B)--Analys]

THE ARTS

Musical Instruments. Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three feet in height. Today they are made of palm or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá* houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

Tempo. There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The

[Text continues middle of P.69(B)--Anal,157]

[205] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 99(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated Foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

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rice	*árros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*ánwo* or *án* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá án*
black beans	*án doLoLó*
red bean	*án mátkLe*
butter bean	*wéwo*
pole bean	*án kLíe*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwá doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwá tsikríri*
white maize	*ikwá surwá*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[Text continues TOP of P. 99(C)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ike*
pole bean	*kəni kaLiá*
black bean	*kəni doLoná*
red bean	*kəni matká*
vegetable pear	*jarwo*
tiquisque	*bue*
pejibaye	*diká*
seedless pejibaye	*diká jəʒerrirbo*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kəchi chomp*
maize	*kwá*
black maize	*kwá doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikwá*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*cepé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[Text continues bottom of P. 99(C)--analyst]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P.99(C)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
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APPENDIX I : Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

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BRIBRI

guineos	*cbimą*
plantains	*tsaLá; muá*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*siwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kíchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chíchi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*ámók*

CABÉCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirú*
alligator pear	*jomó*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kichə*
sugar cane	*paltə*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chíchi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chó*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)